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numerous ; and one has to be thankful for what is bestowed, regretting that there is not more detail in Putnam's narration of events of highest moment. To a certain extent the letters supplement the memoirs ; and in several instances the correspondence reveals a master mind dealing with new and all-important questions. For instance, Putnam's reply to Washington's request for opinions on a peace establishment for the United States after 1783 showed a clear comprehension of the methods of protection for the western frontier ; and had his simple, logical, and adequate advice been taken by Congress, thousands of lives and millions of dollars would have been spared. In his letter to Fisher Ames, in 1790, arguing for the retention of the western territory by the United States, Putnam shows at once the courage, the calm judgment, and the prophetic insight of a statesman. The western country, he argued, might be driven by neglect into the arms of England or of Spain ; both self-interest and inclination attach the people of that territory to the United States.

A touch of humor all unconscious is given to the volume by the retention of Putnam's unique variations on the orthography of his own day, diverse as it was. Indeed there is difficulty at first in reconciling great mental capacity with a tendency to spell the same word in two or three different ways on the same page. Nor does Putnam confine his eccentricities to himself ; when he copies a letter or a document he gives to it his own peculiar impress. Thus within the space of three lines he makes Washington write "completed immediately", "agreable", and "servent" : and Secretary Knox's official pen is brought to indite such absurdities as "ben", "compell", "endevor", and "esteme". Doubtless Fisher Ames recognized the force of Putnam's argument as to the antagonism of interests in the case of the British in Canada and the Western settlers ; but he must have smiled over such a sentence as "a few by permission from Lord Dotchester, or Somebody else, may cary goods into the Indian Country. but the returns must be made to Quebeck. Surely this Government can never Suit their genus nor be for their intrest."

It would have been a decided help if the correspondence had been divided into chapters with brief introductions showing the sequence of events by adverting to leading occurrences, such as the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, the founding of Marietta, the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, and the Jay treaty ; also the Putnam chronology might well have included the dates of his birth and death, together with somewhat more extended information of a biographical character.

CHARLES MOORE.

*The American Revolution.* Part II. By SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVILYAN, BART. (New York, London, and Bombay : Longmans, Green, and Company. 1903. Two vols., pp. xi, 353 ; ix, 344.)

MANY of us remember the pleasure and satisfaction with which we read years ago *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* and *The Early*

*History of Charles James Fox.* In the life of Fox we found biography and history presented in their most charming form and most intimate relations, we saw a style that was peculiar, personal, almost quaint but always fascinating, and we discovered that the author had a remarkable sureness and deftness of touch that could come only from much thought, long study, and clear-headed appreciation of facts. The first volume of the present series we took up with misgivings; we dared not hope that the author after a silence of twenty years would speak so clearly and winningly as before, but our misgivings soon disappeared. Here was the same charm, the same wealth of allusion, the same evidence of living familiarity with Sandwich and North and all the rest, a familiarity which had bred much more than contempt. Here too was the old capacity for coining epigrams that were for some curious reason not forced or artificial or stilted but seemed to run into the lines as simply and naturally as did prepositions or commas.

What then can be said about the volumes now before us? Are they as attractive as their forerunners? The only one who can give a satisfactory answer probably is some one who does not know the forerunners — a contradiction of course, and yet perhaps the safest guide would be the judgment of some one to whom Sir George Trevelyan came as a novelty and a surprise. If we must confess that these new books do not hold us as before, to what can we attribute the difference? If the difference is not in ourselves, perhaps we miss the spicy gossip from London, perhaps there is too much space given to intolerant old Dr. Johnson and highly respectable John Wesley, perhaps we do not care so much to read of Washington's failures at New York and his successes in New Jersey as we do of the knaveries of the so-called statesmen of Westminster. With all the author's remarkable knowledge of American life one hundred and twenty-five years ago, with all his power to dwell on the little illuminating things that seem to grow big under his touch, we wonder whether he really knows America as well as he knows the London of Fox and Burke, and whether in the midst of all this familiarity there is not a certain far-awayness that destroys the illusion of reality. And yet none of us is so beyond his prime that he can fail to rejoice in the skill with which the author treats such men as Weymouth — one of those splendid rakes whom George III., defender of the faith, gathered about him in his effort to uphold the dignity of his empire. "He so far mended his ways", we are told, "as to take to wine; and he could converse over it brilliantly and agreeably until that hour of the morning when the banquet had lost all resemblance to a feast of reason. . . . The first, and perhaps the most important, of Weymouth's public services was to enable an English prime minister to ascertain the low-water mark of character which would qualify a nobleman for the occupation of Dublin Castle." Certainly such satire could not be surpassed by Juvenal in meter, while, in comparison, much of the writing of Junius seems awkward. Of Fox's speech on Lord North's non-intercourse bill, the author says: "It was common-sense, red-hot; and Ministers did not venture to touch it except

with the very tips of their fingers." The author's severest castigation is reserved for Shebbeare, one of the malevolent pensioned pamphleteers that sought by their pens to fight the battles of the ministry : " His first literary effort was a lampoon on the surgeon from whom he had received a medical education ; and his last was entitled ' The Polecat Detected ' ; which was a libel, and not, (as might have been supposed,) an autobiography." It is difficult to forbear quoting one more sentence, which is chosen because it is thoroughly characteristic of the author's amusing practice of joining together the tangible and the intangible, the real and the tropical, in the same sentence : " Oppressive prosecutions of publishers and printers in the King's Bench alternated with angry, and sometimes undignified, debates in the House of Lords ; and Mansfield too often had to pick his way back out of the tumult with his composure ruffled and his ermine soiled." Such writing as this is not so common that we can afford to pass it by without comment, and if it strikes the sober-minded historical scholar as flippant, let us say that it becomes flippant only in the hands of the inexperienced imitator, who may think that antithesis and homely metaphors make up for paucity of knowledge.

The value of the books does not lie, for the American reader at least, in the narration of the military campaigns. These are of course interestingly told, with a wealth of personal reference and in such a way that the reader does not for a moment look on the army as a mere machine ; it is always made up of human beings. But those who are not already acquainted with the main strategy of the war will be likely to become at times hopelessly confused ; for the writer does not hesitate to ramble when he wishes to, and the reader is generally content to ramble with him. The chiefest interest, once again, is in the treatment of English politics, in the author's earnest endeavor to show that the people of the mother-country were ill-represented by Parliament and that they did not sympathize with the oppressive measures of the ministry. One feels that the author has undertaken an enormous task and one is unwilling to confess that he has thoroughly established his position. But he has beyond question given us much to think about, and has shown his usual ingenuity in gathering his evidence from all sorts of neglected corners. The last half of the second volume is taken up with a consideration of English conditions during the war and is most valuable and entertaining reading. He discusses the contemporary fears for English liberty and shows how real many men thought the peril to be ; he discusses the newspapers, the pamphleteers, the opinions of the historians of that day, the feeling of the cities, the nation and the war, the talk of men, the loyalist exiles ; and if one is not convinced that the author's conclusions are altogether unassailable, one is gratified for an array of interesting and telling facts that throw new light on the Revolution and give it new human meaning.

Thus far the author has reached only the early part of 1777. Are we to have several more volumes ? Can he treat in such detail and with so much illumination the next five years ? Possibly he does not care to, and anyway he has now in great measure told his story. As far as Eng-

land is concerned, we have before us Trevelyan's view of the American Revolution, but we would wish him length and strength of days to finish the tale after the American revolt expanded into a European war. On the American side much remains to be done; here too the conflict was a party conflict, and the author has not as yet succeeded in presenting the confusion and upheaval of the quarrel on this side of the water—the social reactions, the influence of frontier sentiment, the neighborhood feuds, the border strife, the political manœuvring and chicane, the greed for pelf, the self-sacrificing devotion, the plenty and want, the nobility and sordidness of the American Revolution.

*A Century of Expansion.* By WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, A.M., L.H.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1903. Pp. xi, 316.)

DR. JOHNSON'S book is a popular account of the territorial growth of the United States. He points out the fact that American expansion is something more than geographical extension, that it involves the life of the people and is a continuation of the movement that began with the planting of the colonies. Upon this theory he devotes the opening chapters to the struggle with France for the possession of the Ohio, to Clark's conquest of the northwest, and to the treaty that closed the Revolution. This conception of the subject is admirable, but unfortunately the author's knowledge is unequal to its adequate treatment. Errors of detail are numerous. Among them are mistakes in dates and proper names; the stories of a Jesuit seminary at Kaskaskia, of the Flathead mission, and of Whitman's saving Oregon, and the statements that England purchased New York from Holland in order to secure a continuous sea-coast, that the taxes which caused the Revolution were imposed to meet the expenses of the French and Indian War, and that Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark overland as a part of his campaign against France for the possession of Louisiana. Nor are the general impressions conveyed accurate. The account of the peace negotiations at the close of the Revolution is badly warped. There is no appreciation of the difficulty of the position in which a dual alliance placed France, nor of the game which England played in order to detach the United States from France, but relations with England are represented as "particularly cordial". In the whole book Botta is the only authority cited upon this subject. In the case of Texas there is no presentation of the various elements that entered into the situation; the two annexation movements are not distinguished, but the acquisition is charged chiefly to the rapacity of Andrew Jackson. Most misleading is the discussion of the Oregon treaty, which is characterized as a "monstrous betrayal" and a "criminal concession", whereas in fact we were irrevocably committed to the line of the forty-ninth parallel and secured in that boundary all that we could reasonably ask.

The legal opinions set forth by Dr. Johnson are even more amazing than some of his historical statements. He derives the power to acquire